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came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[33] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious

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685 tion of household looting following the assassination of an
727 enemy. In such cases, the assassins are practicing behavior
[674] which is supposed to be reserved for acts of war against non-*untsuri šuara*. Such behavior is thus in the nature of an additional indignity inflicted upon the victim's household, and is
685 normally considered very bad form within the tribe. In-
428 heritance of property does not always go entirely smoothly, however, because younger siblings may be angered if the eldest does not share some of the inheritance. Since, however, the eldest has the legal right to keep all the parent's possessions, the younger siblings do not have any recourse to any formalized sanctions. They usually just refuse to visit the elder brother.

562 A man's property consists of the house he has built, the
422 artifacts that he has made or has received as gifts, the game
• 423 and fish that he has caught, and the crops (mainly maize) that he has raised. A woman's property likewise consists of the artifacts she has made or received as gifts, wild foods she has gathered, the crops that she is cultivating or has harvested, the section of the garden in which she raises them (if there is another wife), and the pigs and chickens that she raises. A woman may also own a pottery clay deposit if it is near her house and she was its discoverer and excavator.

423 Land, or natural resources, is not owned individually or communally, except in the sense that a specific garden or part of a garden is owned by a woman as long as it is being cultivated, usually no more than about five years. Even in this case, it is the capital improvement of the land that is owned, in the form of the garden, not the land in its natural state. No territorial boundaries are recognized for hunting, fishing,[1] or other purposes on a tribal, neighborhood, or household level except in one type of apparently very rare situation. This was a reported case of two related men living

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens. 423

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life. 578 628 682

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

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178 As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in
491 a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which
648 will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez.
563 This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

563 Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the
648 eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to
721 seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate
[123] such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jivaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jivaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jivaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

182 An important aspect of the current situation is the differ-
• 423 ence between the concepts of land utilization held by the
563 Jivaro and the whites. The Jivaro, with a free land tradition,
648 have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jivaro do not have the tradition of solely
[178] subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also de-
[433] pend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gather-
[657] ing. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, es-
[797] pecially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jivaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jivaro

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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jivaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaras de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukra, and governed by Catholicized Jivaro.[1] The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jivaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jivaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*huma*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jibaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jivaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-